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REVOLUTION & POLITICS

The Legacy of Independence

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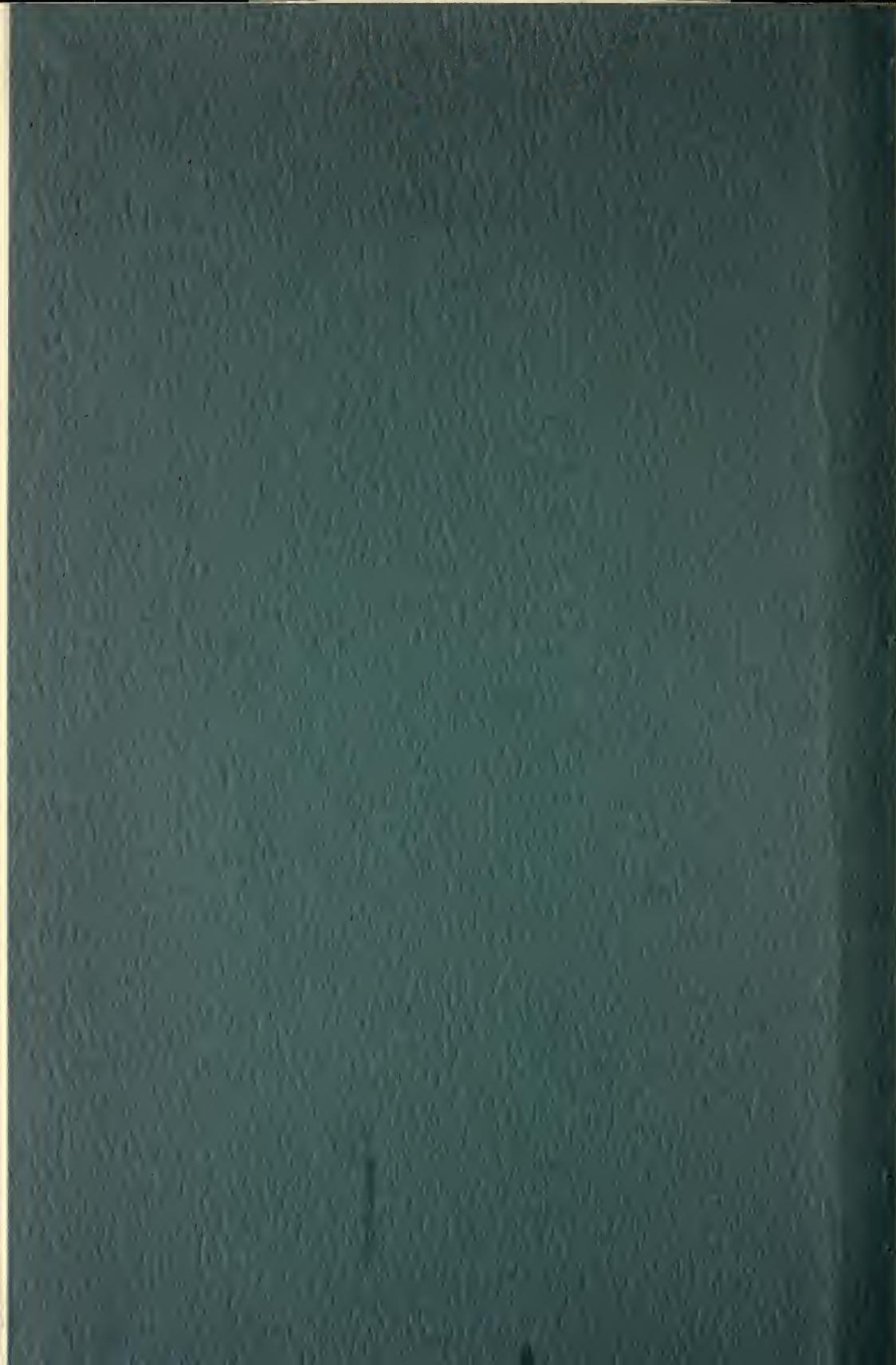
THE HONORABLE

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY



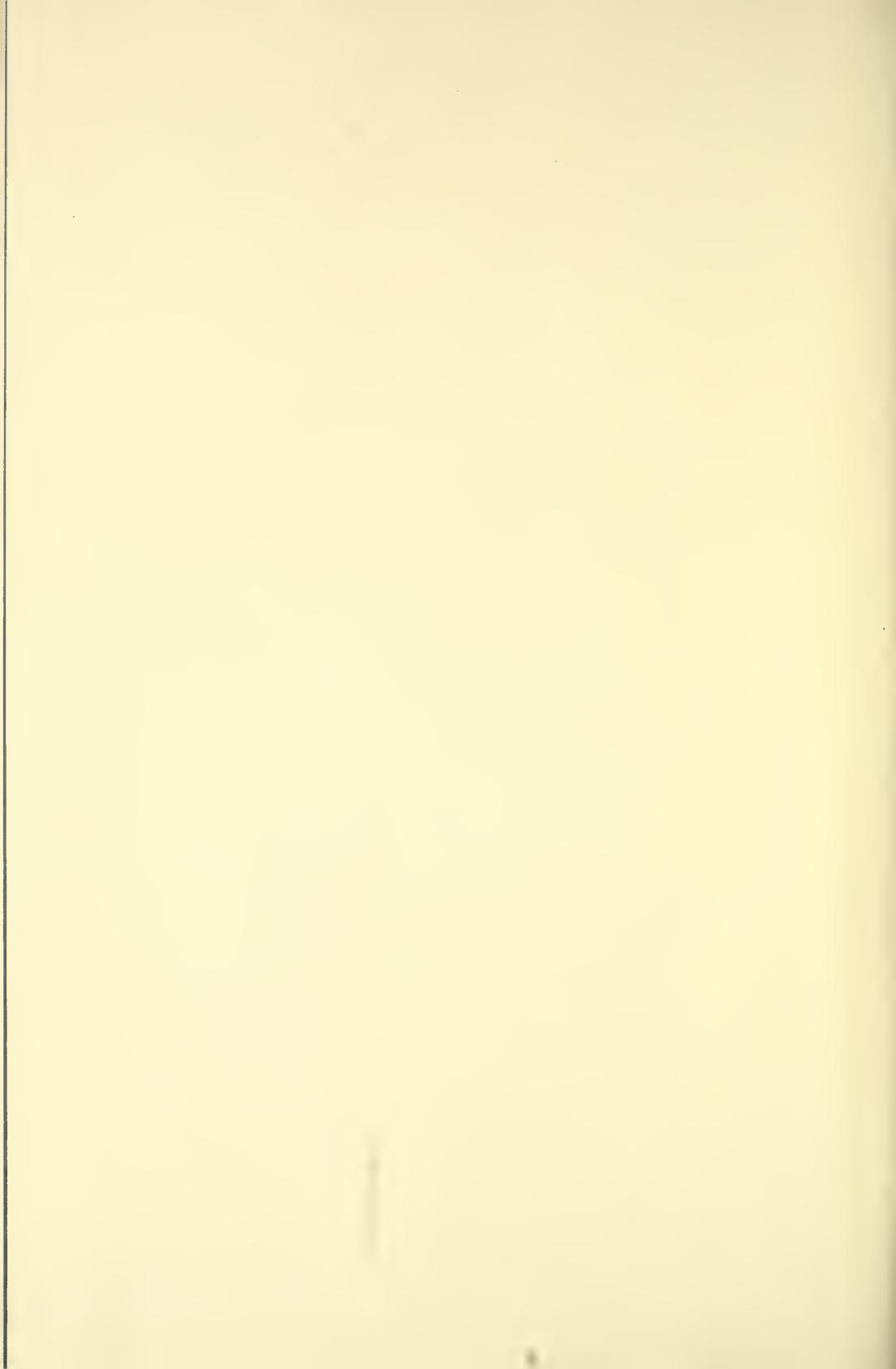
COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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REVOLUTION AND POLITICS

The Legacy of Independence



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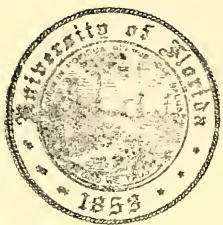
An Address by the Honorable

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*On the occasion of the celebration of the
Prelude to Independence
At the eighteenth-century Capitol
Williamsburg, Virginia*

May 31, 1969

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA



REVOLUTION AND POLITICS

The Legacy of Independence

Mr. Humphrey's address was entered in the Congressional Record by Congressman Thomas N. Downing of Virginia's First Congressional District.



Revolution and Politics: The Legacy of Independence

By the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

This is indeed a beautiful day. No one could stand in this place at this time without feeling the importance of the hour and the occasion. And I am grateful for the invitation to join in celebrating the memory of the great Virginians whose decisions made here almost two centuries ago led the way to American independence.

A celebration such as this has a direct bearing on our mental health as a people and as a nation. For in a very real sense a nation, like an individual, can be a victim of amnesia. If it loses the memory of its own past, it can be at a loss to know what it is in the present, and what it wants to be in the future.

So, therefore, today, I want to dwell on the relationship between living Americans and a sense of the American past. I am convinced that this matter is of central importance to all other topics now at the focus of American attention.

Every generation looks at the world through the prism of its own experiences and the present is always in contest with the past. My own generation was no exception.

We came to maturity at a time of great trouble in this world. All units of economic value had collapsed. Totalitarian dictatorship and democratic appeasement destroyed the hope for peace.

All of us knew that something was profoundly wrong in many aspects of American life. Yet, with few exceptions, my generation did not feel hostile to the whole of America's past. We did not reject the entire web of legal and political institutions which we had inherited from other generations. Nor did we call for their overthrow in a thrust of violence and force.

Our thoughts and our actions were governed by a political equation between the idea of progress and the idea of order. On the side of progress, we insisted that laws and institutions can no more resist the need for change than a grown man can wear the clothes which fit him as a boy.

And we were convinced that if the need for change was denied while life moved on, the predictable result would be a violent explosion that could shatter existing institutions.

Now, on the side of order, we insisted that if existing institutions were simply destroyed in the name of progress, the people would find their hope for liberty and progress destroyed in an unlimited war of all against all, and there would be no standard of conduct to which all alike could appeal.

Therefore, by striking a balance between the two sides of that delicate equation, we came to a definition of our own task, namely: to cleanse, hopefully to purify the body of existing laws and institutions and to retain what was best in them. That which was conserved became the foundation on which we could raise a bridge binding the American past to its unfolding future.

Now, it would be an abuse of language to say that everything my generation hoped to do was done. Nor did everything that was done gain the objects in view.

But what my generation achieved, however, with all of its shortcomings, was no small thing. We laid the basis for a tremendous advance in material and intellectual conditions of American life, and for the possibility of a world security system that has thus far spared us the carnage of a nuclear war.

That for my generation.

Now. How do things stand today?

Serious minded and vocal members of the rising generation of young people have framed a troubled indictment which demands our attention regardless of whether or not we agree with what it says. The indictment, stripped to its essentials, goes something like this. Here is what they're saying to us:

The whole order of American politics, inherited from the past, has lost relevance in the face of rapid, accelerated and pervasive changes. These changes, differing in quantity and quality from any experiences in the past, have broken the link between public talk and the possibility of being heard, between urgent needs and the capacity of established institutions to respond to them.

And that young peoples' indictment continues:

Only a person who denies, they say, the evidence of his own senses can deny the shameful reality of two Americas in our midst—the one affluent and often indifferent, the other miserable and seething with frustration.

And the indictment concludes in these words:

There is a clinching proof that the structure of American politics

inherited from the past has lost its relevance to the present needs. It can be seen in the order of values which governs the mechanism of American politics when it comes to the allocation of national resources.

It is a mechanism, they say, geared almost automatically to pour out limitless billions of dollars in support of armament systems beyond the limits of rational and justifiable needs. Yet that same system strains at a gnat when asked to support programs designed to deal with the dangerous conditions in our internal security—the crisis conditions in our cities, in our impoverished rural areas, the crisis conditions of inequality of opportunity, the crisis conditions of hunger, of unemployment, of educational deprivations among the submerged one-fourth of our population, white and black alike.

They say it is a system geared to pour out billions of dollars in order to put two men on the moon, but it is sullen and canker-hearted when asked to help put a dispirited man back on his feet right here on earth.

Now, most of the young people, and I repeat the vast majority of young people, who have framed this anguished indictment stop with the indictment itself. They do not say that existing institutions must be destroyed or overturned, or that necessary changes should be entrusted to disorderly or even violent means.

They retain a residue of respect for the political and legal system inherited from the past.

But, my fellow Americans, they also demand—and they demand it loudly and constantly—repair and remedy. They seek above all to humanize our institutions—to broaden the base of participation and to open the avenues of opportunity. This young generation, I call them patriots of dissent, is filled with anger and indignation over our failures to do what it knows we are capable of doing. Yes, they are impatient, angry, but not irresponsible—such are their characteristics.

And I submit they deserve our thanks, not our rebuke. To them we must listen and act. They remind us that freedom's work is never done—that the American revolution is a continuing one, unfinished and ever changing.

Now, if we fail to answer this indictment, the shape of our future is already visible to us in a miniature prototype. I refer to the activities and motivations of, thank goodness, a still very small group of young people—white and black alike—who have been pressing an “age-war” more virulent than any previously known in American history.

The members of this group, as yet small, whether in the colleges or the ghettos, despise the kind of social changes that are made in small steps. Change—for this new breed of rebels—must be total, beginning with an assault on all existing institutions and social relationships.

In one breath, the young rebels insist on absolute truth. "Tell It Like It Is." In a second breath, they are suspicious of any truth, saying that it is only a lie concocted in the interest of what they call "the establishment."

In one breath, they insist on the right to full participation in self-government. In a second breath, they say that the more a man is involved in the life of organized society, the more he is likely to be corrupted by it.

In one breath, they insist on neat and rational order for society. In a second breath, they say that orderly thought and action imprison a man and corrupt the honesty of his responses. Orderly thought must therefore be displaced by the stress on spontaneity, by direct response to immediate circumstances, by a purifying, discontinuous happening.

Now the young rebels, this small group of whom I speak, are not troubled by the fact that they have no coherent program for action, or that their impulses—generous in some respects, dangerous and absurd in others—discharge themselves in almost any direction and in almost any form. Since they view themselves as a self appointed elite—an embodiment of the total good—they feel morally armed with the right to make only their own voice heard and to gag all others.

They feel morally armed to prevent any other people from meeting, to invade any assembly or classroom, to break up any proceedings where people of divergent views seem to be engaged in rational, though groping search for a common understanding. They, the destroyers—the nihilists of our time—to them and their tactics, I say we must not yield.

If there is any comfort in all of this, it is that we have been forced anew to consider the meaning of dissent and civil disobedience in American politics—or more particularly, the tradition of dissent and civil disobedience stemming in good part from this very place and from the great Virginia dissenters whose work we honor today.

Now, the great Virginians who labored here were not schoolboys. They were mature men, leaders in their respective communities, heads of substantial enterprises, with much to lose if they erred, and they were not given to rash adventures, nor given to raising hell just for the hell of it.

Before they embarked on their great act of dissent and civil disobedience, which led to revolt and then to revolution, they carefully debated among themselves the most difficult of all political questions.

At what point does the need for "order" in the state or society take precedence over the need for "justice"—or the other way around?

How much injustice is tolerable for the sake of order?

How shall the modes of protest be expressed? And against what

objects? And decided by whom?

Who shall say if the avenues of legal relief for the redress of grievances exist in point of fact? Who shall say if these avenues exist only on paper, but not in the real world of things?

The great Virginians recognized that unless they asked and at least struggled with the possible answers to these basic questions, they could become useless, useless to themselves and to the cause they intended to promote by their dissent. They understood as have few others in our history the relationship of meaning to achieving their goals or their ends.

They could become useless if they were to bring to their act of dissent the wrong kind of behavior, the wrong kind of strategy, the wrong sense of their own moral autonomy.

They could become useless, if the act of civil disobedience were permitted to degenerate into breaking all laws, good or bad, simply because they were laws.

Yes, they could become useless, even if their initial cause was just, if by the lack of moral and intellectual discipline they were to open the gates to indiscriminate dissent and indiscriminate civil disobedience as a way of life.

Mind you, their act of civil disobedience was not a private act. It was not a conspiracy designed in a corner. It was a public act made in the open by a regularly constituted representative body of the community, a public act agreed to only after full debate and finally an approving vote.

And instead of coupling their civil disobedience with the clamor for amnesty if they failed to carry their object, they made it clear that they were prepared to suffer the loss of their fortunes and even their lives if their revolt should fail.

They ventured to prove that they had resorted to civil disobedience only because they had exhausted every available constitutional legal means for redress of their grievances, or only because the constitutional means that existed on paper were in fact inoperative in practice.

They made it abundantly clear that they were not protesting in the abstract. Theirs was real life, real problems. Their object was to bring to birth the terms of a new policy under which they could live more happily.

They clearly distinguished, in the words of George Washington “between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority . . .” and between the “spirit of liberty and licentiousness.” And that is why, once they had unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress to propose independence for the American colonies, they allowed no time, no gap to develop in the legal structure of Virginia itself.

They promptly went to work on a new constitution—a new constitution which by law, enlarged the market place for public freedom, enlarged the political space in which more Virginians than ever before would have the right of access to the public realm, to their share in public power, to participate in the conduct of public affairs with its discussions, deliberations and decisions.

In short, and there is a lesson to be learned here, the whole object and achievement of the great Virginia dissenters was to uphold the concept of law by establishing it on a broader basis of consent than was possible when Virginia was held in tutelage by the English monarchy and parliament.

For all of these reasons, the great Virginia dissenters led the way to a durable and positive achievement in freedom and independence—as against the trail of wreckage left in the wake of some our present-day advocates of violence and destruction.

Now, my fellow Americans, does contemporary politics have any answer to give to the case of America's young rebels of today who seek to manipulate other people by coercive means—by gun-play, by fire-bombs, by intimidation, by physical assaults, by kidnappings?

Possibly, at least I must hope so.

It is my view, that politics can at least keep their numbers small instead of gaining them new recruits from among the vast majority of young people who love this country and yet want it better—who still retain a respect for legal and political forms inherited from the past.

Before I come to the ways and means, let me note two sets of realities that are often overlooked and that may lie very close to the heart of our present predicament.

First, there was the oversight of the comfortable people of the United States who on the one hand applauded the actions of the late beloved Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which gave currency to the strategy of non-violence, but who on the other hand, these same comfortable people turned away when it came time to remedy the injustices and the discriminations which prompted Dr. King into the streets. These comfortable people, and there are so many of us, saw the non-violent strategy simply as an instrument for restraining restive Negro Americans.

This oversight was the father to other things that were also overlooked. For example, the very success of the non-violent methods used in getting long-needed civil rights legislation created the illusion that the battle for civil rights was over. In fact, it had only begun.

The laws, all indispensable in themselves, had only established the conditions for legal equality between the constitutional rights of whites and blacks alike.

They did not, of themselves, achieve a condition of equity measurable in terms of concrete rights—rights that we all want—the right to a job at decent pay, the right to adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which spurs rather than hobbles human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to a decent diet, and the right to access to the benefits of modern medical science.

Now, those of us who battled year in and year out to reconstruct the edifice of legal equality between the two races were not under any illusion about what had been accomplished even when the year 1964 brought our legislative effort to the peak of success.

We knew that this effort was only a down payment on the larger and more difficult task of translating legal language into improved material conditions in the day-to-day life of Americans who are poor—who are black or who are white.

We also knew that if there was a default or failure of nerve with respect to this larger and more difficult task, two things would inevitably happen:

First, there would be a tendency on the part of people whose hopes and rising expectations for a better life had been aroused, to lose faith in the normal operations of the law as the best instrument for the promotion and distribution of justice.

Secondly, if the non-violent tactic which had helped get necessary civil rights law did not lead directly to tangible social improvements, the predictable result would be an escalation of social tensions and a loss of capacity to solve the problems of social justice by peaceful means within the framework of law. And we've seen this happen.

If these two melancholy predication were to be proven false, it was also clear where the primary remedial initiative must come from. It must come primarily from the privileged segment of our society—which by the way is the majority—the main beneficiary of all the good things our society has to bestow.

It could not come, nor could it have been expected to come, from the segment of the American population that had been denied for so long full participation in America's economic, social and political life.

But unfortunately, and in the privacy of our own meditation and in the serenity of our own conscience, we know that the privileged segment of our society did not provide the initiative in a measure commensurate to the need. Unlike the signers of the Declaration of Independence we did not pledge our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor to secure these rights. We pledged but a bit of it.

Everyone, of course, still talks about the urgent need for peace between the white and black races in America. But I ask today, what kind

of peace? On what terms? Achieved how? Where? And by whom?

A peace which depends on walls and moats that each race builds around itself, announces on its face that the spirit of war is in the air. A peace which comes after human rages have spent themselves in passion and in violence is of the kind covered by the cry of Isaiah: "In peace is my bitterest bitterness."

Peace has something to do with the habits of the heart in the encounters of daily life, and with perceptions that are a guide to actions which are beyond the reach of law.

Peace has something to do with the truth that the white and black races in America are like two mountain climbers tied to the same rope. Their fate is indivisible. If they do not move in mutual support of each other, then as surely as the law of gravity exists, they will fall together into a deadly abyss where violence will be the rival of violence and where neighbor will set upon neighbor.

Above all, peace has something to do with justice, with equity, and with those measures in the public realm that promote justice and equity in the private realm of daily experience.

Now, the specific things that have to be done should no longer be any mystery or secret. They were clearly stated in the report of the Kerner Commission. They were restated again this year—one year later—in the study released by Urban America and the Urban Coalition. And these groups are not made up of irresponsible radicals but rather men and women of substance, conscience and thought.

Through these and similar sources, we have again been told—and I say it is true—that poverty remains a pervasive fact of American life, and the continued disparity between this poverty and the general affluence was and remains a source of alienation and discontent.

We have again been told—and it is true—that ghetto schools continue to fail, and the small amount of progress made in improving the quality of these schools has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

And we have been told—and it is true—that there are no programs that seriously attack the continued existence of the filth and the degradation of the American slums.

Each of these failures cries out like the voice of a prophet for the need for remedial measures. The question is not whether we have the power of mind required to devise social inventions that can give effective form and force to the remedial measures. We have that inventive power. And, we have the means and we have the resources. The question is, do we have the will—the determination. Will we make the commitment of our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor?

That inventive power and that commitment will not be brought into full play unless all of us are keenly aware of the stakes. They are the same stakes which confronted the great Virginians of the American Revolution after the American War had been won—the stakes to establish a government under a new constitution for a more perfect union. The stake of building one nation and as we put it—one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

As in their case, so now in our time and in our own instance we are confronted with the need to prove anew that men can establish good government, responsible government, through reflection and choice, rather than to entrust their future to the play of accident and force.

So now I come to the second reality that is often overlooked and is right at the heart of our problem. The traditional dividing line between domestic and foreign affairs has become in all our cardinal questions as indistinct as a line drawn through the water.

What we do in the arena of the world has a direct bearing on what we can do at home. What we must do at home, has a direct bearing on what we can and must do in the world arena—one and inseparable. And precisely on this account we must be clear about our national priorities. I'm sure that everyone from the President to every person in this audience knows that the paramount priority requiring persevering patience, steadfastness and courage, and yet a sense of urgency, is the attainment of a just peace in Viet-Nam.

There is no doubt of it. And might I add I intend to do all I can as one citizen to support the hand of our President, who I am sure as I am sure of anything, as the man before him, seeks peace and seeks it with all the power at his command.

The growing debate that's focused on the anti-ballistic missile system is only symptomatic of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached over the size and nature of military spending.

And unless we are successful now, my friends, in slowing down the nuclear arms build-up, it can be predicted without qualification that we will be caught up in a new spiraling arms race that will cost this troubled world hundreds of billions of dollars, and be meaningless in securing either side any military advantage. The level of danger, however, will be raised—and the balance of terror will become more precarious.

It can be predicted, further, that as this military spending accelerates, our urgent domestic needs will be neglected and our efforts to mobilize the country in getting at the running sores in our internal life will fall woefully short of need.

We may find ourselves in the peculiar position of a people devoured from within by bitter and embittering social conflicts, while our outer

face is that of a super-power bristling with new weapons systems, but all amounting to a hard shell encasing a rotten, soft or empty center.

We must come to see, therefore, that our security is threatened more immediately and more directly by the missiles of hate and bigotry and injustice and violence that are loose within our own shores and borders, rather than the nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union that are currently checked by the policy of mutual deterrence. And I submit that we must set our priorities accordingly.

Therefore, high on the list of priorities for me is to promptly initiate discussions, and I say promptly, with the Soviet Union, directed toward halting the expansion of both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. Already precious time has been lost.

To complicate this urgent task by injecting issues of trade and political disputes of many years standing is both dangerous and unrealistic.

Yes, to wait for Congress to act on the issue of the ABM before initiating negotiations is neither necessary nor desirable. The fact is, it is later than we think. The time to negotiate is now. If the negotiations are successful, then we will be spared the cost of the weapons. If the negotiations should fail, we will know, at least, that we tried. Yes, that we the American people tried to spare mankind from a dangerous and costly escalation in armament. The world looks to us today as it did in those days of the great Virginians for moral leadership. We dare not default. Peace like war needs its heroes.

So let me speak candidly: In this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with the issue of arms control and our domestic social and economic problems is only to intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly in the 1960's for our failure in the 1950's to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price, mind you, will be higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next two, four, six years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

So I summon you on this beautiful occasion. I summon you to action—we the American people. This cannot be a time for relaxation, nor of turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us. There is no place to hide—no place to escape.

Yes, now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must once again resort to the difficult ways of civilized and rational men—fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth and purpose, but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a

firm grip and a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed. This is in fact the spirit of the continuing American revolution.

I recall the words of Adlai Stevenson, who in his own spirit personified the nobility of democracy: "Democracy is not self executing. We have to make it work, we have to understand it . . . not only external vigilance but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty, because the work of self government never ceases."

With a sense then of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, which is in fact what we're doing, we must ventilate the clogged, stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change which are everywhere about us, must be directed to constructive purposes—not through violence—not through hate—not through bitterness—not through passion, but through debate and dissent—through dialogue and discussion—until decision and direction are achieved.

This to me, my fellow Americans, is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed—the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and be unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom and independence which this occasion, this hallowed ground itself commemorates to us and reminds this nation.

Thank you.

BIOGRAPHY OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Hubert H. Humphrey, former Vice President of the United States, first achieved national prominence in 1945 when, at the age of 34, he was elected mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota. He was re-elected to a second term in 1947. The following year he was elected to the U. S. Senate, and was returned again in 1954 and 1960. In 1964 he was elected Vice President. He was unsuccessful in his bid for the Presidency in 1968 after winning his party's nomination.

Mr. Humphrey's name has been closely associated with nearly all national social reform and human rights legislation of the past two decades. During his sixteen years in the U. S. Senate, the last four as majority whip, he proposed and saw to fruition, laws on civil rights, elimination of poll taxes, anti-job discrimination, and protection of rights guaranteed by constitutional and statutory law, among others. As a freshman Senator in 1949 Mr. Humphrey was the first to propose a program of health insurance for the elderly; sixteen years later he helped Medicare become law. He also was the first to propose creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development which is today a functioning arm of the federal government.

Likewise, Mr. Humphrey's endeavors on behalf of American youth can be seen in a range of legislative achievements which he has either proposed, or guided to passage, or both, as U. S. Senator and Vice President. Among these milestones are the Peace Corps; Youth Opportunity; the Job Corps; the "Head-start" program for disadvantaged pre-school children; the first federal program of direct aid to elementary and secondary education; federal scholarships and loans to college students; grants to colleges for needed facilities, and a variety of other actions which have directly or indirectly affected the education and welfare of young people.

The breadth of Mr. Humphrey's interests has encompassed diplomatic and international affairs. He served as a delegate to the United Nations by appointment of President Eisenhower and undertook official missions to all six continents of the world during his term as Vice President.

Mr. Humphrey received a degree from the Denver College of Pharmacy in 1933, a B.A. (Magna Cum Laude) from the University of Minnesota in 1939, and an M.A. from Louisiana State University in 1940.

Prior to his election as mayor of Minneapolis, Mr. Humphrey was a teacher of political science, a profession he follows again today at Macalester College, St. Paul, and the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.



PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE

TO RECALL basic American concepts of liberty and individual rights, Colonial Williamsburg annually commemorates the Prelude to Independence period from May 15 through July 4. This spring marked the 193d anniversary of three momentous actions taken by the Virginia Convention, meeting in the Capitol at Williamsburg: the Independence Resolution of May 15, the Declaration of Rights of June 12, and the Virginia Constitution of June 29.

On May 15, 1776, the convention unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia to propose independence for the American colonies. Accordingly, Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates, moved on June 7 "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Lee's motion was approved on July 2, and two days later the Continental Congress addressed to the world a formal Declaration of Independence. This American credo, penned by another Virginia delegate, Thomas Jefferson, grew directly from the decision taken on May 15.

The Virginia Declaration of Rights is read annually at the Prelude to Independence ceremony.



Virginia Declaration of Rights

DRAWN ORIGINALLY BY GEORGE MASON AND
ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES

June 12, 1776

A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good People of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which Rights do pertain to them, and their posterity, as the Basis and Foundation of Government.

I.

That all Men are by Nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent Rights, of which, when they enter into a State of Society, they cannot, by any Compact, deprive or divest their Posterity; namely, the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.

II.

That all Power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Servants, and at all Times amenable to them.

III.

That Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common Benefit, Protection, and Security, of the People, Nation, or Community; of all the various Modes and Forms of Government that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest Degree of Happiness and Safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of Mal-administration; and that, whenever any Government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these Purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible Right, to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such Manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public Weal.

IV.

That no Man, or Set of Men, are entitled to exclusive or separate Emoluments or Privileges from the Community, but in Consideration of public Services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the Offices of Magistrate, Legislator, or Judge, to be hereditary.

V.

That the legislative and executive Powers of the State should be separate and distinct from the Judicative; and, that the Members of the two first may be restrained from Oppression, by feeling and participating the Burthens of the People, they should, at fixed Periods, be reduced to a private Station, return into that Body from which they were originally taken, and the Vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular Elections, in which all, or any part of the former Members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the Laws shall direct.

VI.

That the Elections of Members to serve as Representatives of the People, in Assembly, ought to be free; and that all Men, having sufficient Evidence of permanent common Interest with, and Attachment to, the Community, have the Right of Suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their Property for public Uses without their own Consent or that of their Representatives so elected, nor bound by any Law to which they have not, in like Manner, assented, for the public Good.

VII.

That all Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by any Authority without Consent of the Representatives of the People, is injurious to their Rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII.

That in all capital or criminal Prosecutions a Man hath a Right to demand the Cause and Nature of his Accusation, to be confronted with the

Accusers and Witnesses, to call for Evidence in his Favour, and to a speedy Trial by an impartial Jury of his Vicinage, without whose unanimous Consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give Evidence against himself; that no Man be deprived of his Liberty except by the Law of the Land, or the Judgment of his Peers.

IX.

That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

X.

That general Warrants, whereby any Officer or Messenger may be commanded to search suspected Places without Evidence of a Fact committed, or to seize any Person or Persons not named, or whose Offense is not particularly described and supported by Evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

XI.

That in Controversies respecting Property, and in Suits between Man and Man, the ancient Trial by Jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

XII.

That the Freedom of the Press is one of the greatest Bulwarks of Liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic Governments.

XIII.

That a well regulated Militia, composed of the Body of the People, trained to Arms, is the proper, natural, and safe Defense of a free State; that standing Armies, in Time of Peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to Liberty; and that, in all Cases, the Military should be under strict Subordination to, and governed by, the civil Power.

XIV.

That the People have a Right to uniform Government; and therefore, that no Government separate from, or independent of, the Government of *Virginia*, ought to be erected or established within the Limits thereof.

XV.

That no free Government, or the Blessing of Liberty, can be preserved to any People but by a firm Adherence to Justice, Moderation, Temperance, Frugality, and Virtue, and by frequent Recurrence to fundamental Principles.

XVI.

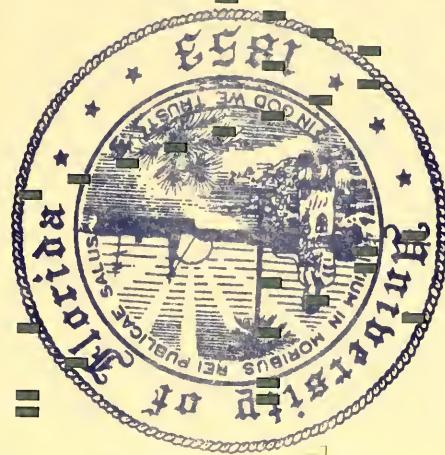
That Religion, or the Duty which we owe to our Creator, and the Manner of discharging it, can be directed only by Reason and Conviction, not by Force or Violence; and therefore, all Men are equally entitled to the free exercise of Religion, according to the Dictates of Conscience; and that it is the mutual Duty of all to practice Christian Forbearance, Love, and Charity, towards each other.

320.113

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• **COLLECTOR'S CARD** •



TO POCKET

2) RETURN CARD

KEEP CARD IN POCKET

**IT IS IMPORTANT THAT
CARD BE KEPT IN POCKET**

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